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V.—*On the Relation of the Anglo-Norman Vowel System to the Norman Words in English.*

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THE introduction of Latin elements into the English language is due to four principal causes : the occupation of Britain by the Romans, the conversion of the Britons to the Christian Church, the conquest of England by the Normans, and the revival of classical learning in the sixteenth century. We are therefore accustomed to speak of these elements respectively as Latin of the first, second, third, and fourth period.

This division is not altogether satisfactory. It accounts, for instance, for *leal* and *loyal* on the one hand, and *legal* on the other, the first two being Latin of the third period, the third Latin of the fourth period ; but it fails to explain the doublet *leal* and *loyal*. A similar group is *peer*, *pair*, and *par*, and others will be mentioned in the course of this investigation. Again, there is a class of words, a fair specimen of which is *require*, which is decidedly classical Latin in form, and which we should therefore suppose to belong to the Latin of the fourth period ; yet it is found in Chaucer. Subdivisions of the above classes are therefore needed, if we wish to account for the various forms in which Latin words appear in English.

The words belonging to the first two classes are so well known and so few in number that we need not dwell upon them. The third class, however, is the most important one, the words belonging to it being very numerous, and next to the Anglo-Saxon constituting the most important element in the English language.

At the time of the Norman conquest there was no French language in the modern sense of this word, but instead of it

we have a number of dialects, the principal ones being the Wallonian, the Norman, the Picard, the Burgundian, and that of the Île-de-France. The last-named dialect, of which the Modern French is the direct descendant, possessed during the eleventh century no pre-eminence whatever over the other dialects, but, considering both its literary productions and its territorial extent, it was perhaps the least important of them all. These four dialects must be regarded as independent developments of the Low Latin, and not as having grown out of a common French type.

The French words which were introduced into English during the first centuries following the Norman conquest came of course directly from the Norman dialect, or rather from that particular species of it known as the Anglo-Norman, which was the original Franco-Norman transplanted on English soil and left there to independent development. In consideration now of the great differences which existed between the phonetic system of the Anglo-Norman dialect and that of the Old French proper, it would certainly be a great mistake to look in the Old French for the original types of this class of Romance words in English. We have to go to the Anglo-Norman dialect. This seems so perfectly plain and self-evident that it is strange it should ever have been overlooked. Nevertheless, works on English etymology pay, as a rule, no attention to it. Mr. Skeat in his Dictionary constantly derives English words from their Old French (Île-de-France) cognates, without troubling himself to account for the strange changes which their pronunciation and orthography must have undergone were they to be derived in that fashion, — changes which cannot be explained by phonetic laws known to have worked on English soil, and which Mr. Skeat occasionally disposes of by using the very convenient, but rather unscientific, term "corruption." (Compare the article on *mister*.) A knowledge of the peculiar forms which these words had in Anglo-Norman will at once reveal the fact, not only that no corruption has taken place, but that the original Anglo-Norman forms have in many cases been remarkably well preserved, making allowance, of course, for

the changes which the English phonetic system in general has undergone since the Norman conquest, particularly by the mutation of vowel sounds.

This may be illustrated by the following example. The earliest and most common Middle-English form of *hour* is *ure*, Ancren Riwe, pp. 6, 8, 20, etc. Mr. Skeat refers us to OF. *hore*, *heure*; he pays no attention to the ME. *ure*, but gives us only the later Chaucerian *houre*. The matter is very simple: the Norman dialect has a preference for *u*, and substitutes it, as a rule, for Latin *ō* where we have *ou* or *eu* in the French proper. Hence we get from Latin *hōra* the Anglo-Norman *ure*, Set Dorman, l. 767, Petit Plet, ll. 168, 548, etc. This gives us the ME. *ure* mentioned above, which then passes into the MOD.E. *hour*, just as most other ME. *ū*'s pass into MOD.E. *ou*; viz. ME. *hūs* > MOD.E. *house*, ME. *ūt* > MOD.E. *out*, etc. Were we now to derive our word, as Mr. Skeat does, from the OF. *hore*, we should have *hor(e)* in ME. and *hoor(e)* in MOD.E.; for as a rule ME. *ō* passes into MOD.E. *oo*; for instance, ME. *bone* > MOD.E. *boon*, ME. *lome* > MOD.E. *loom*, ME. *mone* > MOD.E. *moon*, etc. Here is, then, a clear case of Modern English pronunciation and spelling being directly traceable to the Anglo-Norman vowel system.

In the following pages I propose to show how far the influence of the Anglo-Norman vowel system extends; but before doing so it would be well to state that we cannot expect to find perfect regularity, and give the reason why.

In the first place, there existed dialectic differences within the Anglo-Norman itself, which future investigations may classify according to time and locality. Then again, while it is right to assume that every Englishman acquiring the use of a new Norman word endeavored to pronounce it to the best of his sense of hearing and his capacity of reproducing, it is equally natural to suppose that his attempts to pronounce the new sounds exactly as the Normans pronounced them were as a rule unsuccessful. As far as the English side is concerned, it would thus be useless to go into the niceties of Anglo-Norman phonetics. It is impossible to suppose that the English distinguished in hearing and in pronunciation

the five or six *e* sounds which Chardry never mixes in his rhymes. (Vid. Koch, *Einleitung*, pp. 25, 26.) Again, the preference of any given English dialect for its own peculiar sounds must in each case have influenced the pronunciation of Norman words, and it is hence perfectly natural that the same word was pronounced and spelt in different fashions by English writers living in different localities. A thorough treatment of this subject should therefore be based on a complete glossary of all Norman words occurring in Middle-English classified according to time and locality. Unfortunately, such a glossary does not exist. Attempts toward such a collection have indeed been made, but what has been produced is untrustworthy.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Skeat's work is an invaluable help, to be sure, since the Middle English references are numerous and generally exact; but of course not all the Middle English forms are given, and the author, misled by Modern English spelling, which is largely influenced by Modern French, is apt to give us exceptional forms rather than the more regular ones.<sup>2</sup>

This brings up another point, which will go far toward

<sup>1</sup> I refer particularly to the collection given in Morris's "Outlines of English Accidence." By a comparison with my own glossary, I find, for instance, that out of a total of 92 Romance words occurring in "King Horn" Mr. Morris has omitted 20, or about 22 per cent; viz. *arme* (840), *cheres* (403, 1063), *age* (1324), *wicket* (1074), *still* (and horn let the tires *stille*, 676), *sire* (805, etc.), *seint* (665), *river* (230), *rive* (132), *pris* (898), *preie* (763), *lay* (1477), *joye* (1346), *ile* (1318), *heirs* (897), *geaunt* (802), *fine* (262), *feste* (477), *faillie* (638), *dute* (344). The compiler evidently did not go through the text, but simply glanced through Lumby's very incomplete glossary, as will be seen from the fact that *denie* is mentioned as a French word, being evidently taken for the ME. *deny*, while the passage where it occurs reads, "al þe curt gan *denie*," meaning, of course, "the whole court resounded," *denie* being the AS. *dynnan*, MOD.E. to *din*. By a similar mistake, *pure* is counted as a Norman word, but the passage where it occurs reads, "Aþulf was in the ture — abute for to pure," meaning, in order to "peer" about; *peer* is a good Anglo-Saxon word.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Skeat depends for his Old French forms largely on Burguy's Glossary in the "Grammaire de la Langue d'Oïl," and from among the abundance of Old French dialectic forms that are given there he does not always select those peculiar to the Norman, which are most likely to explain English pronunciation, English orthography being largely under the influence of the French proper. Often he gives us a whole set of Old French forms which are in no way important for English. Comp. the article on *juggler*.

explaining many irregularities, namely, the influence which spelling and pronunciation of one set of Romance words in English have exercised upon spelling and pronunciation of another. If the English were ever conscious of the Anglo-Norman as a dialect distinct from, but equally legitimate with, the French proper, it seems that they had lost this consciousness very soon; for while in the earliest Middle-English Norman words are found in precisely the same form which they have in the dialect, later writers are found to be more and more under French influence. Thus only the most striking characteristics of the Anglo-Norman were preserved in English; minor peculiarities were lost. Many words which in the earliest Middle-English appear in a pure Anglo-Norman garb, are later refashioned after a French model. Sometimes, however, the Anglo-Norman word had gotten a hold on the popular language, and in that case it was preserved by the side of its French cognate. Still later, both forms were subject to being remodelled after a Latin fashion to suit the etymologizing tendency of the period of the Renaissance; sometimes the older forms would stand, and a third or Latin form would be added to form a triplet.

More correct, then, than the division cited above would be the following classification of Latin elements introduced into English later than the Norman conquest:—

1. Norman words: *leal*, ME. *real*, *feeble*, *peer*, *mister*, *leisure*, *defeat*, *grief*, *dainty*, *frail*, *conquer*, ME. *acqueren*, etc.

2. French words: *loyal*, *royal*, *foible*, *pair*, *master*, *poise*, *coy*, etc.

3. Latin words: *legal*, *regal*, *par*, *magister*, *defect*, *grave*, *dignity*, *fragile*, *acquire*, *quiet*.

A word may therefore belong either to one of these classes, like *leisure*, *poise*, or to two, like *defeat* and *defect*, *coy* and *quiet*, or to all three, like *leal*, *loyal*, and *legal*. On the other hand, it may belong to one class at a certain period, and to another class at another period, like ME. *acqueren* and MOD.E. *acquire*. In the following pages I propose to show the relation of the first class to the other two, as far as the vowel system is concerned.

I. THE VOWELS *e* AND *i*.A. *ê* and *î*.

The vowels *ê* and *î* of the Classical Latin passed in Low Latin into one sound, which was undoubtedly that of an *é fermé*. (Comp. Romania, x. p. 36.) This sound passed in the common Old French into *ei*, and later, probably through the influence of the Eastern dialects, into *oi*. In Norman it was preserved as *ei*, but especially in the later Anglo-Norman it is subject to contraction. Thus we have:—

- Lat. *rêgem* > AN. *rei*, SD. 223, F. *roi*.  
 “ *lêgem* > “ *lei*, SD. 224, F. *loi*.  
 “ *fîdem* > “ *fei*, Jos. 73, F. *foi*.  
 “ *quîd* > “ *quêi*, Jos. 40, F. *quoi*, etc.

In English words of Norman origin this peculiarity of the Anglo-Norman dialect is very well preserved; for although in Modern English the original *ei* is graphically represented in many different ways, yet it has regularly an *e* or *i* sound; the French *oi* is found only exceptionally.

a. LATIN TONIC *ē* AND *ī* IN OPEN SYLLABLES (*ē* and *ī* “libre”).

- feeble.** Lat. *flēbilis* > AN. *feble*, SD. 155, Jos. 1115 > ME. *feble*, AR. pp. 54, 56, 136, etc. > MOD.E. *feeble*.—The OF. form *foible* (MF. *faible*) gives us the doublet *foible*.
- faith.** Lat. *fîdem* > AN. *fei*, SD. 234 > ME. *fey*, Havelock 255, later with E. suffix > *feith*, *feyth*, *faith*. OF. *foi*, *foit*.
- veil.** Lat. *vēlum* > AN. *veil* > ME. *veil*, AR. p. 420. F. *voile*.
- parish.** Lat. *parēcia* (*paroecia*) > ME. *parische*, Chaucer. F. *paroisse*. Derivative: *parēcianum* > ME. *parishen* > MOD.E. *parishion-er*.
- heir.** Lat. *hēres* > A.N. *heir*, PP. 1101 > ME. *cir*, *eyre*, *heire*, *heyre*, Chaucer, William of Pal. F. *hoir*.
- beverage.** \**bīb(ē)rat(i)cum* > *beverage*, Shak. W. T. i. 2. 346. According to its vocalism, the word must have been used before Shakespeare's time. OF. *boivre*, hence *boivrage*, *bouvage*. MF. *breuvage*.
- ME. curteys.** Lat. *cortēsīs* (for *cortensis*) > AN. *curteis*, PP. 1215 > ME. *cortey*, *curteys*, William of Pal.; corrupted > MOD.E. *courteous*. Derivative: AN. *curteisie*, PP. 281, *curtesie*, SD. 1223, PP. 1012 > ME. *kurteisie*, *kurtesie*, AR. pp. 70, 416. F. *courtois*, *courtoisie*.

- eyre.** Lat. *iter* > N. *eire*: "le *eire* des feluns perirat," Bartsch, Chrestomathie Franç. 53. 20, in a Norman translation of the Psalms. The OF. form is *oire* or *err*.
- prey.** Lat. *prēda* > N. *preie*, Bartsch, Quatre Livres des Rois 59. 2 > ME. *preie*, *preye*, Rob. of Gl. F. *proie*.
- trey.** Lat. *trēs* > N. *treis*, Chanson de Roland 275, 995 > ME. *trey*, Chaucer. F. *trois*.
- money.** Lat. *monēta* > AN. *munee*, SD. 532 > ME. *muneie*, *moncie*, Chaucer. OF. *monnaie*, MF. *monnaie*.
- lamprey.** Low Lat. *lamprēta* > ME. *laumprei*, *laumpree*, Havelock. F. *lamproie*.
- array.** Low Lat. *arrēdium* > N. *arreie* > ME. *arraie*, *arraien*. OF. *arroi*, *arroier*.
- fair.** Lat. *fēriæ* > N. *feire* > ME. *feyre*, *feire*. F. *foire*.
- ME. secree.** Lat. *secrētum* > AN. *secrei*, *segrei*, Jos. 826 > ME. *secre*, *secree*, Chaucer, Piers Plowm. OF. *secroi*, but under Lat. influence both MOD.E. and MF. *secret*. The correct Middle English form is preserved in *de-cree*, ME. *decre*, *decree*, Robert of Brunne, Chaucer, while we have a combination of the two in *discreet*, ME. *discret*, Piers Plowm.
- receive.** Lat. *recipere* > AN. *receivre*, *recevre*, Jos. 817 > ME. *re-ceivein*, *receyuen*, Piers Plowm. OF. *reçoivre*, MF. *recevoir*. Likewise *decipere* > AN. *deceivre*, Jos. 958, 963, *decevre*, PP. 1636 > E. *deceive*, *decēpit* > AN. *deceit*, SD. 1878; also *conceive*, *perceive*; *conceit*, *receipt*.
- ceil, ceiling.** Lat. *cēlum* > ME. *syll*, *cyll*, *seile*, a canopy > MOD.E. *ceil*, *ceiling*. This is the only French word in which Lat. *ē* is represented by *ie*, for the *ie* in the two other words given by Brachet, *cimetière* and *chantier*, is due to metathesis.
- manor.** Lat. *manēre* > ME. *maneir*, *manere*, Piers Plowm., changed under French influence (F. *manoir*) > MOD.E. *manor*.
- purpess.** This spelling is etymologically more correct than *porpoise*. Lat. *porcus piscis* gives in AN. *purpeis*, or *purpes*, comp. *peissun* (*piscis*), SD. 396, ME. *purpeys*, Prompt. Parvulorum. F. *poisson*.

In all these words the Norman *ei* (Lat. *ē* or *ĩ*) is rendered in English by an *e* or *i* sound. We come now to the consideration of some real or apparent exceptions.

**void.** Lat. *viduus*. This is only an apparent exception. Lat. *viduus* gives us in Old French two forms: (1) *void*, by the



regular diphthongization of *ī* = *fīdem* > *foid*, *foit*; (2) *vuid*, by a transposition of the *u*. The *E. void* may come either from *void*, for the latter is found in Norman (Chanson de Roland, cxiii.), or from *vuid*, just as *destroy* from *destruire*, *annoy* from *ennuyer*. The *MF. vide* is a "mot savant."

**coy.** Lat. *quietum*. This is a more difficult case. *coy* is a decidedly French form; the Norman form is *quei*: "Icels d'Alverne . . . se cuntiennent plus *quei*," Chanson de Rol. 3797. The English form should therefore be *quei* or *quay*.

Before nasals Lat. *ē* becomes *ei* in common Old French and remains so in Modern French; e. g. *vēna*, *F. veine*, *E. vein*; *rēnes*, *F. rein*, *E. reins*, etc.

#### b. LATIN PRETONIC *ē* AND *ī* IN OPEN SYLLABLES.

Generally the same rule holds good as for tonic *ē* and *ī*.

**convey.** Lat. *convēā're* > AN. *conveier*, *conveer* (*enveier*, *enveer* occur in Jos. 988, SD. 367) > ME. *conveien*, and under French influence *convoien*, hence MOD.E. *convoy* and *envoy*.

**leisure.** Lat. *licē're* > AN. *leisir*, PP. 703 > ME. *leyser*, *leysere*. OF. and MF. *loisir*.

**purvey.** Lat. *provīdē're* > AN. *purveier*, *purveer*, SD. 439, 1427 > ME. *purveien* > MOD.E. *purvey*, doublet *provide*. Derivative: AN. *purveance*, PP. 941 > E. *purveyance*, doublet *providence*. AN. *purveieur* > E. *purveyor*. Thus also *survey*, *super-vīdē're*.

**covet.** Lat. *cupīdā're* (Skeat's *cupiditare* is an impossibility) > AN. *cuveiter*, *cuveter*, SD. 1861, PP. 1412 > ME. *coveiten*, *cuveten*. Derivative: AN. *cuveitus*, PP. 35 > E. *covetous*. OF. *co(n)voiter*, MF. *convoyer*.

**tourney.** Lat. *\*tornīare* > AN. *turneier*, *turneer* > ME. *turneyen*. Derivative: *tournament* (for *turnement*, AR. p. 390). OF. *tournoi*, *tournoiement*, *tournoyer*.

**ME. viage**, Chaucer; *veage*, Rob. of Gl. Lat. *viaticum*, AN. *veage*, Jos. 2856. The etymologically correct ME. form has been crowded out by the F. form *voyage*.

**ME. real.** Lat. *rēgā'lem* > ME. *real*, Chaucer, C. T. 1020. Crowded out by the F. *royal*, probably to avoid confusion with *E. real*, from L. *realis*, but survives in the derivative *realm*, L. *rēgālimen*, F. *royaume*, doublet *real*, a Spanish coin. Thus also L. *rēgā'lem* > E. *leal*, doublet *loyal*.

The Latin infinitive termination *-iā're* becomes *-y* in English: *variā're* > *vary*, *\*studīā're* > *study*, etc.

Only one word in this class has a decidedly French form, viz. : —

**poise.** Lat. *pēsā're* (for *pensare*). The Norman form is *peiser* : “d'Oliver li *peiset* mult forment,” Chanson de Roland, 2514 ; and *peisen* actually occurs in Piers Plowm. Hence, if no French influence had been brought to bear on it, the Middle English form would be *peise* (or *peese*, *pease*).

Just as the common Old French *ei* resulting from Lat. *ē* or *ī* becomes *oi* in the French proper, and remains *ei* in Norman, so does the *ei* coming from other sources change to *oi* in French proper, but remains *ei* in Norman. The other most important source of *ei* is a Latin *e* attracting a following *i* or a guttural or palatal vocalized to *i* ; e. g. L. *mēdiā'num* > N. *meien*, *meen*, OF. *moien*, MF. *moyen*. The Norman form gives us the English *mean*.

Other examples : —

**ME. peitrel.** Lat. *pectorale* > ME. *peitrel*, *petrel*, Chaucer. The F. form *poitrel* is also found.

**bennet** (proper name and botany *Geum Urbanum*). Lat. *benedictum* > AN. *beneit*, *benet* Jos. 406, SD. 1688, PP. 406 > E. *bennet*. OF. *benoit*, MF. *benoît*. Derivative : *beneiçun*, *beneisun*, Jos. 1588, PP. 54, 1535 > ME. *beneisun*, Havelock > ME. *benison*.

**pray.** Lat. *prēcā'ri* > AN. *preier*, *preer* Jos. 2647, but also *prier* SD. 1716 > ME. *preien*, *preyen*, KH. 769, 1200 > MOD.E. *pray*. OF. proper *proier*, but also (under Norman influence ?) *preier*, contracted > *prier*. Derivative : AN. *preere*, Jos. 1382, SD. 1720, 1841 > ME. *preiere*, *preyere*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *prayer*.

**praise.** Lat. *prēliā're* > AN. *preiser*, SD. 1084, PP. 898 > ME. *preisen*, AR. pp. 64, 74, 144, etc. > MOD.E. *praise*.

**defeat.** Lat. *disfectum* > AN. *defeit*, *defet* > ME. *defeiten*, *defeten*, Chaucer. Likewise *discomfit*, *discomfiture*.

**strait.** Lat. *strictum* > *strectum* > N. *estreit*, *streit*, Chanson de Roland, 1001, 2202 > ME. *streit*, Lay. 22270 > MOD.E. *strait*. OF. *estroit*, MF. *étroit*.

**dean.** Lat. *dēcā'num* > AN. *deien*, *deen* > ME. *den*, *deen*, *dene*, Piers Plowm. > MOD.E. *dean*. OF. *doien*, MF. *doyen*.

The diphthong *oi* is found only in words of decidedly later introduction, — for instance, *adroit*, according to the Dictionary of the English Philological Society first used by Evelyn, A. D. 1652. Had the word been introduced during the Anglo-Norman period, it would be *adreit*, comp. Jos. 3 : “la dreite veie de salu.”

The terminations *-erium* and *-eria* which appear in French as *-ier* and *-ière* are in Norman regularly represented by *-er* and *-ere*, and in this form they also appear in English : —

**manner.** Lat. \**maneria* > AN. *manere*, SD. 79 > ME. *manere*, Lay. b, II. 373, AR. 6, 136 > MOD.E. *manner*. F. *manière*.

**matter.** Lat. *materia* > AN. *matere* > E. *matter*. F. *matière*.

**mystery, or mistery,** (a trade,) corrupted from ME. *mester*. Lat. *ministerium* > AN. *mester*, Jos. 302, 1827, PP. 1125 > ME. *meister*, AR. 70, 212, *mester*, AR. 72, 210, etc., *mistere*, Chaucer. The later form *mistery* may have been brought about by confusion with AN. *mestrie*, Jos. 768, 2191, SD. 1224, which comes from L. *magisteria*.

The “*terminaison savante*” *-erie* is occasionally found, e. g. *matérie*, AR. p. 270, and it survives in a few Modern English words of later introduction, as in *cemetery*, F. *cimetière*.

## B. Latin *ě* in Open Syllables (*ě* “libre”).

### a. TONIC.

Latin *ě*, which in common Old French is usually diphthongized, is as a rule retained in Anglo-Norman as a simple vowel ; e. g. *bref*, SD. 475, *sege*, SD. 1871, etc. Middle English orthography generally agrees with the Anglo-Norman ; but in Modern English *ie* is often written, although it is pronounced as a simple vowel. We give some examples : —

**brief.** Lat. *brěvem* > AN. *bref*, SD. 475 > ME. *bref*, *breef*, Piers Plowm., AR. p. 344, etc. > MOD.E. *brief*. Compound : ME. *embreven*, AR. p. 344.

**siege.** Lat. \**sědium* > AN. *sege*, SD. 1871 > ME. *sege* = seat, throne, AR. p. 238 > MOD.E. *siege*. F. *siège*.

**rear.** Lat. *rětro* > AN. *rere* (*arere*, SD. 1484, PP. 200) > ME. (*ar*)*rere*, Piers Plowm. F. *arrière*.

**fierce.** *fěrus* > AN. *fers* (adv. *ferement*, SD. 951) > ME. *fers*, Chaucer, C. T. 1598 > MOD.E. *fierce*. F. *fier*. — This is a very curious word, in that it is the only Norman adjective which has been taken into the English language in its nominative form, *fierce* standing of course for *fier-s* ; and this is the more remarkable because it exists in French as an original accusative.

**piece.** Low Lat. *pětium* > AN. *pece*, SD. 1504 > ME. *pece*, Robert of Gl. > MOD.E. *piece*. F. *pièce*, etc.

## b. PRETONIC.

Latin pretonic *ĕ* in open syllables is usually preserved in French as well as in Anglo-Norman and English:—

**tenant.** Lat. *tenentem* > N. *tenant*. F. id.

**precious.** Lat. *prĕtiosum* > AN. *precious*, Jos. 720 > ME. *precious*, *precious*, Piers Plowm. F. *prĕcieux*.

**congeal.** Lat. *congĕlā're* > ME. *congelēn*, Gower, etc.

In one case the pretonic *ĕ* has become *i*: *ĕbōrea* > ME. *ivoi'y*, *ivorie*, also *every* (Prov. *evori*, Bartsch, 33. 22). F. *ivoire*.

Latin pretonic *ĕ* and *ĭ*, if accented in English, are treated like *ē*: *ordĭnā're* > AN. *ordener* > ME. *ordeynen*, Piers Plowm. > MOD.E. *ordain*. Likewise all the compounds with *tĕnĕ're*: AN. *meintēnir*, Jos. 1730, SD. 16 > ME. *maintēnen*, *maintenen*, King Alisaunder; *contain*, *obtain*, *sustain*, *abstain*, *retain*, *entertain*.

C. Latin *ī* in Open Syllables (*ī* "libre").

Preserved in French as well as in Anglo-Norman and English: Lat. *pīca* > F. *pie*, E. *pie*; Lat. *diffīdā're* > F. *dĕfier*, E. *dĕfy*, etc. The termination *-īa* is always unaccented in English: *phantasīa* > ME. *fantasiē*, Chaucer, C. T. 6098 > MOD.E. *fancy*.

D. Latin *e* and *i* *entravé*.

A vowel is called *entravé* when it is followed by any two consonants, except (1.) *pr*, *br*, *tr*, *dr*, in which cases it is considered to stand in open syllables; and (2.) *cr*, *gr*, *pl*, *bl*, or any consonant + a palatal, in which cases it is called variable. (Romania, x. p. 37.) In common Old French, and also in Norman, every *i* *entravé* becomes *e*; e. g. *fīrmum* > *ferme*, *mīttēre* > *mettre*, etc. Hence for our purpose *i* *entravé* and *e* *entravé* amount to the same thing, and may be treated under one head. As a rule, the *e* *entravé* of the common Old French and of the Norman remains in Middle English, but in later English it is subject to the same change of pronunciation as every other ME. *e*. Hence:—

**beast.** Lat. *bestia* > OF. *beste* > ME. *best*, AR. pp. 120, 128, 134, etc. > MOD.E. *beast*. MF. *bête*.

**feast.** Lat. *festa* > OF. *feste* > ME. *feste*, AR. p. 22, etc. > MOD.E. *feast*. MF. *fête*.

**seal.** Lat. *sigillum* > *sigellum* > OF. *seel* > ME. *seel* > MOD.E. *seal*. MF. *sceau*.

**search.** Lat. *circare* > AN. *cercher*, PP. 1334 > ME. *serchen*, *cerchen* > MOD.E. *search*, *research*, etc. F. *chercher*.

**preach.** Lat. *prædicare* > AN. *precher*, SD. 87, 1824 > ME. *prechen*, AR. pp. 70, 260. Likewise Lat. *\*impêdicare* > ME. *empechen*, *apechen*, > MOD.E. *impeach*, etc.

**conquer.** Lat. *conquîrere* > AN. *cunquerre*, Jos. 2249, PP. 404 > ME. *cunqueren*, *cunqueren*, Rob. of Gl. > MOD.E. *conquer*. MF. *conquérir*.

**acquire** and **require** are treated in Anglo-Norman and in Middle English just like the preceding ; e. g. AN. *requerre*, Jos. 1021, ME. *requeren*, Chaucer, C. T. 6634, etc. ; but they were afterwards remodelled after the Latin ; *acquire*, according to the Dictionary of the E. P. S., about 1600 (Shakespeare's Hamlet).

The Latin combinations *ng* and *gn* are represented in Norman by a single or double nasal ; e. g. *feïnnéz*, Jos. 1484 (2d plur. pres. from *feindre*, L. *fingerè*), F. *feïgnéz* ; *cumpainnie*, *cumpainnun*, Jos. 317, 2346, SD. 277, 443, etc. The *e* and *i* are then treated as usually before nasals. In Middle English the Anglo-Norman model is followed, but in Modern English orthography the original *g* is often restored, though it is never pronounced. Thus we have *dignare*, N. *deinen*, ME. *deinen*, Gower, Rob. of Gl., MOD.E. *deign*, but *disdain*, F. *deigner*. Similarly : *reign* (L. *regnare*), *feign* (L. *fingerè*), but p. part. *faint*, *attain* (L. *attingere*), *restrain* (L. *restringere*), *taint* (p. part. L. *tingere*), *paint* (p. part. formed by analogy to *taint*), *refrain* (L. *refringere*, perhaps confused with *refrenare*), etc.

The word *sue*, which belongs to this class, is rather troublesome, but no more so than in French itself. Lat. *\*sequere* gives us in OF. *sevre*, *sivre*, and, probably by a double influence of the *v*, *suivre*. In ME. we have *sewen*, *siwen*, *suwen*, Lay. *b*, I. 59, II. 264, AR. p. 208. It is not impossible that the noun *suite* may have influenced the English verb ; *suite* comes of course from *secuta*, *s'cuta*, not from *secta*, as Skeat absurdly proposes. The latter would have given us *seat* in English, just as *dissectum* gives us *defeat*.

There was a tendency in the Anglo-Norman dialect, as well as in the Old French proper, to change the sound of *e* before *r* + consonant into *a*. This was probably due to the nature of the *r*, but the greatest irregularity prevails. Thus we have in French : *par* (L. *per*), *lézard* (L. *lacerta*), *lucarne* (L. *lucerna*), *parchemin* (L. *pergamenum*), *marchand* (L. *mercantantem*), *appartenir* (L. *appertinere*), etc. ; but on the other hand : *personne* (L. *persona*), *clerc* (L. *clericum*), *aper-*

*cevoir* (L. *ad* + *percipere*), etc. In Anglo-Norman we find the same inconsistency: *sarmuner*, PP. 182 (L. \**sermonare*), *aparcevre*, Jos. 2471, PP. 428, 435, etc., *marchant*, *marchandise*, Jos. 697, 713, etc., *parfit*, PP. 513, etc.; but on the other hand: *rehercer*, Jos. 941, *mervillus*, SD. 1235, *certein*, PP. 32, etc. In English this phonetic tendency has left many traces, and the best evidence of the irregularity with which it works is the fact that sometimes those words which in Anglo-Norman and French appear with *a* have *e* in English, and *vice versa*; e. g., N. and F. *marchand*, E. *merchant*; F. *merveilleux*, N. *mervillus*, E. *marvellous*; E. *parsley*, F. *persil*; E. *partridge*, F. *perdrix*. Other examples of *-ar-* in English are *parson* (doublet of *person*), *garland*, *war*, *parrot*, *garner*, *tarnish*, *varnish*, *quarrel*, etc. There are certainly many more words occasionally pronounced with *-ar-* instead of *-er-*, and *-ar-* is often written in proper names, e. g. *Sargent*, *Clark*, etc.

## II. THE VOWEL *a*.

### A. In Open Syllables, (except before *n*).

In French the Latin *a*, whether long or short, is usually represented by an *e* sound, written *e* or *ai*, in a few cases also by *ie*: *cāput* > F. *chef*; *nāsum* > F. *nez*; *māre* > F. *mer*; *amārum* > *amēr*; *tālem* > F. *tel*; *cārum* > F. *cher*; *clārum* > F. *clair*; *pār* > F. *pair*; *cānem* > F. *chien*; *grāvem* > F. *grief*. The Anglo-Norman dialect prefers as a rule simple vowels to diphthongs; hence we find: *per* (L. *pār*): "truver ne pout l'em sun *per*," Jos. 170, 2935, SD. 323, PP. 1424, etc.; *cler* (L. *clārum*), PP. 58. In Middle English we find *e* in most cases, but in Modern English some differences in pronunciation and spelling exist. Thus we have:—

**peer.** Lat. *pār* > AN. *per* (cited above) > ME. *pere*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *peer*. Doublets: *pair*, a French form, and *par*, a Latin form. With irregular change of vowel: *non* + *par* (meaning impartial) > ME. (*n*)*umpere*, (*n*)*ompere* > MOD.E. *umpire*.

**cheer.** Lat. *cara* > *chere*, Jos. 1502 > ME. *chere*, AR. pp. 88, 192, 212, etc.; Lay. *b*, II. 371, "pat al sculen pine *cheres*—iwurden swulc pes eorles" > MOD.E. *cheer*, F. *chère*: "fair *chère* lie."

**friar.** Lat. *frātre*m > N. *frere*, Chanson de Roland, 1214, etc. > ME. *frere*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *friar*, probably through *frîre*.

**clef.** Lat. *clāvem* > E. *clef*, formerly also *cliff*.

**degree.** Lat. *de* + *grādum* > ME. *degre*, *degree*, Chaucer.

- die.** Lat. *dātum* > ME. *dee*, *die*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *die*, *dice*. The E. form *die* looks as though it were due to an OF. form *diet* instead of *det*; but it may also be nothing but an irregular vowel change, just like *umpire* for *umpeer*, above.
- agree.** Lat. *ad* + *grātum* > AN. *a gre*, Jos. 2561, v. *agreer* > ME. *agreën*, Chaucer. Etc.

In the case of suffixes the language is of course more regular.

- tātem** gives us in AN. regularly *-te*, the same in ME., and *-ty* in MOD.E.: Lat. *pietatem* > AN. *pīte*, SD. 360 > ME. *pīte*, AR. p. 368 > MOD.E. *pīty*, MF. *pitié*; *civitātem* > AN. *cīte*, SD. 85 > ME. *cīte*, AR. p. 228; *amicitātem* > E. *amity*, F. *amitié*.
- ā'lem** occurs in AN. both as *-al* and *-el*: par *igal*, SD. 897, *communal*, PP. 722, are found by the side of *mortel*, Jos. 2007, *ostel*, Jos. 2067. Both terminations occur in ME.; but in MOD.E.—doubtless under the influence of the many words in *-al* belonging to the period of the revival of learning—the termination *-el* has been superseded by *-al*, although pronunciation could hardly distinguish between them.
- ā'ta** is usually *-ee* or *-ie* in AN., the same in ME., and *-ey* or *-y* in MOD.E.: L. *diurnā'ta*\* > AN. *journee*, Jos. 292 > ME. *journeie*, AR. p. 352 > MOD.E. *journey*; similarly L. *gelā'ta* > E. *jelly*; *armā'ta* > E. *army*; *caminata* > E. *chimney*. To this class belongs *galley*, ME. *galeie*, KH. 185, 1020, OF. *galie*, which is generally supposed to go back to L. *galea*, although the termination seems to have caused trouble. Vid. Burguy, Grammaire de la Langue d'Oïl, III. p. 178. The OF. form *galic* might perhaps be considered as the contract feminine of the participle *galié* (comp. F. “faire chère *lie*” = *laeta*), standing thus for *navis galiata*, *galeata*.

Latin pretonic *a* is subject to weakening: *cāballārium* > AN. *chevalier*, Jos. 279, PP. 1268 > ME. *chivalr(ie)*, King Alis. > MOD.E. *chivalry*; L. *cāminā'ta* > E. *chimney*; *lācerta* > E. *lizard*; *canī'le* > E. *kennel*; *salī're* > E. *sally*. In English this cannot of course be the case whenever the word becomes an oxytonon: L. *dilatā're* > E. *delay*; *tradī're* (for *tradē're*, for *trādere*) > E. (*bē*)*tray*, etc.

Just as the Anglo-Norman shows a preference for *ei* over against the *oi* of the French proper, so it has a decided predilection for *ei* over against the French *ai*, from whatever source the last may come; *ai* occurs indeed, but the general tendency is decidedly

in favor of *ei*, which is then often contracted into *e*. The Middle English forms agree in the majority of cases with the Anglo-Norman.

**feat.** Lat. *factum* > AN. *feit, fet*, SD. 420 (F. *fait*) > ME. *feite, fete* > MOD.E. *feat*. Similarly: *factura* > AN. *feiture*, Jos. 29, SD. 353 > ME. *feture* > MOD.E. *feature*; \**foris-factum* > AN. *forfet*, Jos. 467 > E. *forfeit*; also *counterfeit*, *surfeit*, *feasible*, etc.; over against which we have with the French diphthong *ai* only *affair*, which according to the D. E. Th. S. is spelt *affere* until Shakespeare's time.

**plead.** Lat. \**placitare* > AN. *pleider, pleder*, Jos. 1003 > ME. *pleden*, Piers Plowm. > MOD.E. *plead*. OF. *plaider*.

**lease.** Lat. *lacsare (laxare)* > AN. *lessor*, Jos. 2514, PP. 1419 > ME. *lessen* > MOD.E. *lease*. Derivative: *lessor, lessee*. OF. *laissier*, etc.

**treat.** Lat. *tractare* > AN. *treiter, treter* > ME. *treten* > MOD.E. *treat*. Derivatives: AN. *tretiz*, PP. 12 > ME. *tretis* > MOD.E. *treatise*. Similarly, E. *treatment, treaty*. F. *traiter*.

**peace.** Lat. *pacs (pax)* > AN. *peis, pes*, Jos. 902 > ME. *peis*, AR. 22, 166, 172, etc. > MOD.E. *peace*. F. *paix*. Compound: ME. *apeisen, apesen* > MOD.E. *appease*. F. *apaiser*.

**please.** Lat. *placere* > AN. *pleisir*, PP. 267, 523 > ME. *plesen*, Piers Plowm. > MOD.E. *please*. F. *plaisir*. Verbal noun *pleasure*, ME. *plesure*, just as *leisure*, from *leisir*.

**seize.** OHG. *sazjan* (> LL. \**sacire*) > AN. *seiser, sesir*, Jos. 2340 > ME. *seysen*, Havelock > MOD.E. *seize*. F. *saisir*. Derivatives: *seizure*, etc.; also *seizin*, a law term, ME. *seizine*.

**eager.** Lat. *acrem* > AN. *eigre, egre* > ME. *egre*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *eager*. F. *aigre*.

**meager.** Lat. *macrum* > AN. *megre*, Jos. 858 > ME. *megre*, Piers Plowm. > MOD.E. *meagre*. F. *maigre*.

**heinous.** AN. *heinus* > ME. *heinous, heinus*, Chaucer. OF. *hainous*.

**reason.** Lat. *rationem* > AN. *resun*, SD. 230 > ME. *reisun, resun*, AR. 78, 112, 156, etc. > MOD.E. *reason*. F. *raison*.

**season.** Lat. *sationem* > AN. *sesun*, PP. 138 > ME. *seysun, sesoun*, etc., Chaucer > MOD.E. *season*. F. *saison*.

**treason.** Lat. *tra(d)itionem* > AN. *treisun, tresun* > ME. *treisun, tresun*, AR. 56, 220, etc. > MOD.E. *treason*.

**orison.** Lat. *orationem* > AN. *ureisun, uresun*, Jos. 1357, SD. 228 > ME. *oreisun, ureisun*, AR. pp. 16, 22, 36, etc. Doublet: Lat. *oration*, F. *oraison*. Similarly other nouns in *-ationem*: *comparison*, F. *comparaison*; *venison*, F. *venaison*, etc.



Those words which become oxytona in English usually preserve the original *ai* with the same sound as in *ray*:—

**aid.** Lat. *adjutare* > AN. *eider*, SD. 316 > ME. *aiden*, MOD.E. *aid*.

**flail.** Lat. *flagellum* > ME. *flail*, Piers Plowm.

**frail.** Lat. *fragilem* > ME. *frail*, *freel*, Chaucer. Similarly: *abbatia* > E. *abbey*; *badium* > *bay* (= brown); *bacca* > *bay* (laurel tree); *laicus* > *lay*; *radium* > *ray*, etc. The only exception seems to be *sagēna* > *seine* or *sean*, MF. *seine*.

This peculiarity of the Anglo-Norman of running Lat. *a + i* (F. *ai*) into *ei* and then contracting it into simple *e* accounts for the doublet *master* and *mister*, which seems to have given Mr. Skeat some trouble. He says: "It is difficult to trace the first use of *mister*, but it does not appear to be at all of early use, and is certainly nothing but a corruption of *master* or *maister*, due to the corresponding title of *mistress*." It seems to me that in this case Mr. Skeat should tell us how we get *mistress*, and why we do not say *mastress*. The explanation is not difficult. According to the rule stated above, *magistrum* has to become *maister* in Old French proper, but *meister* or *mester* in Anglo-Norman; and the latter form is found in Jos. 448, 1386, 2835, etc. The form *maister* does not occur in any of Chardry's poems. Besides *mester*, we have the abstract noun *mestrie* in Jos. 768, 2191, SD. 1224, etc. The Middle English form must then be *meister*, found in AR. pp. 56, 64, 182, etc., which in accordance with the above cited Anglo-Norman form may be contracted into *mester*, found in the abstract noun *mesterie*, AR. p. 108. To get from this ME. *mester* the MOD.E. *mister* is surely not difficult: we have precisely the same change in the case of Lat. *ministerium* > AN. *mester*, Jos. 302, 1827 > ME. *meister*, AR. pp. 70, 212, *mester*, Ib. pp. 72, 549 > MOD.E. *mister*(y), *myster*(y), (q. v. in Skeat, p. 386). By the side of the properly AN. form *mester* we find in later ME. — doubtless under French influence — *maister*, KH. 621, 642, etc.; and our conclusion is then that the MOD.E. *mister* is not only no "corruption," as Mr. Skeat calls it, but the regular AN. > ME. development of the word, while *master* is a rather "frenchified" form of it (comp. *cash* from F. *caisse*).

#### B. *Entravé* (except before Nasals).

Latin *a entravé* is usually preserved in French as well as in Norman and English, best of all before *r* + consonant: *partem* > *part*; *artem* > *art*. Similarly: *marble*, *alarm*, etc.; Lat. *damnaticum* >

*damage*; *mansionem* > *mansion*, etc. If not protected by surrounding consonants, the ME. *a* follows the usual mutation of pronunciation common to most English words; hence MOD.E. *āgent*, *nāture*, *chāste*, etc.

In a few words Lat. *a* *entravé* becomes *ai* in Old French and in Norman, and hence in English: *captivum* > OF. *caitif* > E. *caitiff*; *aquila* > F. *aigle* > ME. *egle*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *eagle*.

In Anglo-Norman Lat. *-al* before consonants becomes *-au*, just as in French, and many English words give evidence of it; e. g. Lat. *alburnum* > ME. *awburn*, *auburn*, Prompt. Parv. > MOD.E. *auburn*; *calciata* (sc. *via*) > ME. *cawsee*, *causee*, Barbour's Bruce > MOD.E. *causeway*, etc. In a few cases, however, we find double forms in ME.; e. g. Lat. *altare* > ME. *auter*, *alter* > MOD.E. *altar*, doubtless under Latin influence. There must also have existed in Anglo-Norman a tendency to drop the *l* before consonants entirely; e. g. *mut*, PP. 739, for *mult*, etc. This tendency produced such English words as *save* from *salvare*, F. *sauver*; *chafe* from *cal'fare*\* (for *caleficare*\*), F. *chauffer*, etc.

### C. Before Nasals.

Latin *a* before simple *n* becomes in French either *ai*, for instance, *manum* > *main*, *romanum* > *romain*, *nanum* > *nain*; or *e*, for instance, *christianum* > *chrétien*, *paganum* > *païen*, etc. In AN. *a* before *n* or *m* becomes *ei*; e. g. *plānum* > *plein*, Jos. 1266; *clamare* > *cleimer*, SD. 1119. In ME. we find as a rule *ei* as in AN., but in MOD.E. *ai* is usually written. Thus we have ME. *plein*, *pleyn*, *plain* > MOD.E. *plain*; ME. *vein*, *veyn*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *vain*. Similarly, MOD.E. *claim*, *exclaim*, *proclaim*, *grain*, etc. In unaccented syllables we sometimes find the old *ei* contracted into *e* and so written in MOD.E.: AN. *sudein*, PP. 1081 > ME. *sodein*, *sudein*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *sudden*, F. *soudain*. Similarly, MOD.E. *mittens*, F. *mitaine*, etc. But as a rule the French spelling prevails in English; e. g. *villain* (AN. *vilein*, SD. 186), *certain* (AN. *certein*, SD. 2, PP. 32, etc.), *fountain*, *chaplain*, *captain*, *chieftain* (AN. *chevetein*, SD. 1855), etc. Popular etymology has curiously changed the orthography of *foreign* and *sovereign*, making them appear as though they were connected with *reign* (Lat. *regnum*), while their true Latin types are *superanum*\* and *foranum*\*.

Before a fortified nasal (*n* or *m* + consonant) *a* must have had in Anglo-Norman a decidedly nasal pronunciation. This appears from its peculiar graphic representation by *-aun-* common with Anglo-

Norman and English writers, and preserved in some words up to the present time. This representation gives us a clue to the phonetic nature of the nasalization: *aun* must have been pronounced somewhat like the Portuguese *ão*, which is an *a* sound followed by a nasal, and not like the French *an*, which is an *a* sound itself nasalized. In later English the original sound gradually wore down to a simple long *a*, as in MOD.E. *vaunt*; but in most words even this pronunciation, and with it its peculiar graphic representation, had to give away to such sounds as we have in *change*, *chance*, etc. Oxytona show themselves of course more conservative than other words; hence we have still *aunt* (L. *amita*), *vaunt* (L. *vanitare*), *avaunt* (L. *ab-ante*), *haunt* (OF. *hanter*), *daunt* (OF. *danter*, L. *domitare*). Similarly, *haunch*, *launch*, *paunch*, *staunch*, etc. On the other hand, we have *grange*, *strange*, *ample*, *grant*, *chant*, etc., all of which are found in ME. with *aun*. The only non-oxytonon which has preserved the *aun* is *gauntlet*; all others have *an*: *giant*, *servant*, *tyrant*, *substance*, *advance*, *enhance*, etc., ME. *geaunt*, *servaunt*, *tiraunt*, *substaunce*, *avaunce*, *enhaunsen*, etc.

### III. THE VOWELS *o* AND *u*.

#### A. Latin *ō* and *ū* ("libres").

Latin *ō* and *ū* pass in Low Latin into one sound, generally denoted by *ó* (*o fermé*), and believed to have been the same as the French *o* in *côte*, *pot*, etc. If *libre*, this sound then passes in French proper into *eu*; e. g., L. *hōra* > F. *heure*; if *entravé*, it passes into *ou*; e. g., L. *currit* > *court*. The Norman shows in both cases a preference for *u*. In Middle English we have likewise *u* as a rule, but this soon passes into *ou* or *ow*. Hence we have:—

**hour.** Lat. *hōra* > AN. *ure*, PP. 548 > ME. *ure*, AR. pp. 6, 8, 20, etc., later *houre*, Chaucer > MOD.E. *hour*. F. *heure*.

**flour, flower.** Lat. *flōrem* > AN. *flur*, PP. 64, SD. 1554 > ME. *flur*, AR. p. 340, KH. 14 > MOD.E. *flower*. F. *fleur*.

**crown.** Lat. *corōna* > AN. *corune*, *curune* > ME. *crune*, Lay. 4252, etc., KH. 475, etc., AR. p. 40, etc.; *croune* only in Lay. Ms. *b* > MOD.E. *crown*. F. *couronne*.

**spouse.** Lat. *spūsus* (for *sponsus*) > AN. *espus(e)*, PP. 1183 > ME. *spus*, AR. pp. 2, 10, etc., *spus-bruche* = *adultery*, AR. 56 > MOD.E. *spouse*. Derivative v. ME. *spusen*, *i-spused*, KH. 1050, etc. > MOD.E. *to espouse*. F. *époux*, *épouser*.

Several suffixes with *ō'* are of importance : —

- ō'rem* gives us regularly *ur* in AN. : *valor* SD. 429, *vigur* 939, *culur* 947, etc. In later AN. we find *our* and *or* by the side of *ur* ; e. g. Vie de S. Gr. *amor* 327, *amour* 1741, *labor* 9, *colour* 705, etc., probably either under French or under Latin influence. In the earliest Modern English we find *ur*, e. g. *colur*, KH. 16 ; later also *our*, and under Latin influence -*or* ; hence MOD.E. *valour* (*valor*), *honour* (*honor*), *vigor*, *conqueror*, etc ; F. *valeur*, *honneur*, *rigueur*, etc.
- ō'sum* is treated very similarly. AN. -*us* : *vigerus* PP. 576, *precious* Jos. 720, *mervillus* SD. 678, 1235, etc. ; later *amorous* Vie de S. Gr. 86, *desirous* 122, *merveilleuse* 639, *vigrous* 65, etc., and *pretioses* 219. ME. -*us* : *gracius*, AR. 366, etc. ; later -*ous* as in MOD.E. *gracious*, *vicious*, *marvellous*, etc. F. -*eux* : *gracieux*, *merveilleux*, etc.
- ō'nem*. AN. *passiun* SD. 372, 1717, *garisun* Jos. 270, *peissun* SD. 396, etc. ; ME. *passiun* AR. 116, 188, etc., *devociun* 286, 368, *contemplaciun* 142 ; but MOD.E. -*on*.

In unaccented syllables *u* is also common in Anglo-Norman ; e. g. *curage*, SD. 43, *cuardement*, 1031, *uresun*, 228, Jos. 1357, etc. ; and the same is found in Middle English, but later the change of the English accent brings about differentiation ; hence MOD.E. *courage*, *solemn*, *orison*, but *endow*, *coward*, etc. Modern English is here so whimsical that it is absolutely impossible to formulate any rule ; e. g. *ōdō'rem* > *odour*, *cōlō'rem* > *colour*, etc.

#### B. *Entravés* (except before Nasals).

Latin *o* *entravé* is usually preserved in French as well as in Norman ; hence L. *cotta* > E. *coat* ; L. *costa* > E. *coast* ; L. *tosta* > E. *toast* ; L. *concha* > E. *coach* ; L. *appropriare*\* > E. *approach* ; L. *repropiare* > E. *reproach*, etc. All of these are spelled with simple *o* in Middle English.

Latin *u* *entravé* generally becomes *o* in Old French, and later *ou* ; e. g. L. *turrem* > OF. *tor*, later *tour*, MF. *tour*. The Norman, having a predilection for *u*, retains it, of course, and as such it passes into Middle English, where it later follows the regular mutation to *ou* ; e. g. AN. *tur*, Jos. 261 > ME. *tur*, Lay. *a*, *b*, I. 258, AR. p. 226, KH. 1103 > MOD.E. *tower* ; L. *dubitare* > AN. *duter*, SD. 950 > ME. *duten*, AR. 244, KH. 344 ; L. *gutta* > E. *gout*, etc. Before *r*, however, this change to the *ou* pronunciation does not take place, although

it is sometimes written : L. *diurnā'ta* > E. *journey* ; L. *incurrere* > E. *incur* ; L. *nutricem* > E. *nurse* ; L. *cohortem* > E. *court* (AN. *curt*, DS. 223, ME. *curt*, *kurt*, AR. 210, 212, etc., KH. 245).

### C. Latin *ö*, tonic.

Latin *ö* in the tonic syllable is regularly diphthongized to *oe* in Anglo-Norman ; e. g. *quoer*, *foer*, *hoem*, *proeve*, *moert*, *voelent*, etc. This *oe* must be supposed to represent some kind of an *o* umlaut. In Middle English it is at first represented by an *e* or *ee*, sometimes *oe*, which is then subject to the regular mutation of pronunciation ; hence, ME. *retreven* > MOD.E. *retrieve*, and in two words at least, viz. *choir* and *contrive*, the mutation has gone one step further yet. The words belonging to this class are : —

**beef.** Lat. *bövem* > N. *boef*, Kelham > ME. *beef*, Chaucer. F. *bœuf*.

**people.** Lat. *pöpulum* > N. *poeple* > ME. *peple*, *poeple*, Piers Plowm. > MOD.E. *people*. F. *peuple*. (Comp. the Rhaetian *pievel*.)

**jeopardy.** Lat. *jöcum-partitum* > ME. *jeopardy*, *jepardy*, *jopardy*, *jupartie*, etc., Chaucer. Possibly at various times confounded with *jeu perdu* and *j'ai perdu*.

**affeer.** Lat. *ad* + *förum* > AN. *afeoren*, Kelham > ME. *aferen* > MOD.E. *affeer*, preserved in legal language = to reduce or assess, as an arbitrary penalty or amercement, to a precise sum ; to reduce to a sum certain, according to the circumstances of the case. Blackstone. MF. "au fur et à mesure."

**proof, prove.** Lat. *pröbā're* > AN. *pruver*, SD. 1250, but as tonic syllable, 3d pers. plur. *procvent*, SD. 1394 > ME. *preoven*, *preven*, AR. p. 390, Piers Plowm. In Modern English the vowel has been changed under Latin influence, but it is preserved in the compound *reprieve*, ME. *repreven*, a doublet of *reprove*.

**retrieve.** AN. *truver*, SD. 1269, but accented *tröē've*, SD. 1857 > ME. *(re)treven* > MOD.E. *retrieve*. Similarly, we should have *contrieve*, but for some unknown reason the vowel has here shifted once more to *contrive*, just as in

**choir.** Lat. *chörus* ; it should be *queer*, which form is actually found in Barbour's Bruce, xx. 293, and in the Prompt. Parv. p. 420, *quere* = *chorus*.

**move.** Lat. *mövä're* > ME. *moeven*, *meven*, Piers Plowm. and Chaucer, changed through Latin or French influence to MOD.E. *move*. Similarly, ME. *remeven*, *ameven*.

This treatment of Latin *ö* in Anglo-Norman and Middle English,

illustrated by the above examples, will clear up the etymology of *inveigle*, which Mr. Skeat considers doubtful. He would like to take it from *in-ab-ocul-are*\*, which indeed looks reasonable enough, but he objects to this etymology on account of the "spelling." English orthography is of course altogether below scientific criticism; hence it must be the pronunciation, and particularly that of the tonic syllable, which gives the trouble. Mr. Skeat cannot account for the *î* (Continental) sound arising from a Latin *o*. The matter is easy enough: Latin *ō* gives us, according to the rule cited above, *oe* or *eo* in Anglo-Norman; hence the form *enveogler* cited in Kelham's Norman Glossary; *enveogler* gives us the ME. *enveglen*, which then takes part in the regular mutation of vowel sounds, *ei* being chosen to represent the *î* sound. This matter of spelling is indeed non-essential, for in Richardson's Dictionary we find a number of other spellings of this same word, but all representing the same sound, which is the essential point.

#### D. Latin *ū*, tonic.

Latin *ū* in accented syllables is preserved in French as a *u umlaut*. In Norman it is always *u*, but its Modern English pronunciation shows that even in Norman it must have partaken of the *umlaut sound*. We have L. *pūrum* > E. *pure*; L. *mūtum* > E. *mute*; L. *ūsūm* > E. *use*; L. *\*adventura* > E. *adventure*, etc.

As a pretonic we have it in L. *glūtī're* > E. *glut*, which has doubtless been influenced by *glutton*.

#### E. Latin *o*, *u* + *i*, or *palatal*.

In French a Latin *o* unites with a following *i* or a palatalized guttural to form *oi*, and this is later changed to *ui*; e. g. *noctem* > *noit* > *nuit*; *oleum* > *oile* > *huile*, etc. On the other hand, *u* under the same circumstances becomes *oi*, and does not change again; e. g. *fusionem* > *foison*. In Anglo-Norman the same process takes place, except that the *oi* never changes to *ui*; thus *oi* is also the rule for Middle English, and likewise for Modern English. Hence L. *jungēre* > E. *join*, F. *joindre*; L. *junctum* > E. *joint*; *punctum* > *point*; *fusionem* > *foison*, etc.; L. *oleum* > E. *oil*, F. *huile*; L. *moliare*\* > E. *moil*, F. *mouiller*; *spoliare* > *spoil*, F. *(de)pouiller*; L. *inodiare*\* > E. *annoy*, F. *ennuyer*, etc.

F. *Before Nasals.*

Before nasals Latin *o* is retained in French ; e. g. *nomen* > *nom*, *montem* > *mont* ; Lat. *u* becomes *o* before a fortified nasal ; e. g. *fundum* > *fond*, *abundare* > *abonder*. In Norman we have in both cases *u*, likewise in the early Middle English, later in the accented syllables *ou*. Hence L. *nomen* > AN. *nun*, SD. 208 > ME. *nun*, *num* > MOD.E. *noun* ; L. *otundum* > AN. *rund*, PP. 1334 > ME. *rund*, *round*, MOD.E. *round*. Similarly : L. *montem* > E. *mount* ; L. *comitem* > E. *count* ; L. *computare* > E. *count* ; L. *fundere* > E. *found* ; L. *componere* > E. *compound* ; L. *consilium* > E. *counsel* ; L. *adnuntiare* > E. *announce*, *renounce*, *pronounce*, but in the unaccented syllable of course *-nunciation*, etc. In French we have simple *o* ; e. g. *rond*, *nom*, *mont*, *conter*, *prononcer*, etc.

## CONCLUSION.

It will be seen that in a general way the phonology of the Norman words in English can be traced back to that of the Anglo-Norman dialect. Irregularities are mostly due to the influence which was exercised by Romance words introduced at other times, and belonging to other stages of linguistic development.

## ANGLO-NORMAN TEXTS.

- |                  |   |  |
|------------------|---|--|
| Jos. Josaphaz    | } | All by Chardry (twelfth century), edited by John Koch, Föster's Altfranzösische Bibliothek, Vol. I., Heilbronn, Henninger, 1879. |
| SD. Set Dormanaz |   |  |
| PP. Petit Plet   |   |  |
- Vie de S. Gr. — La Vie de S. Grégoire, par Frère Angier (beginning of the thirteenth century), edited by P. Meyer, Romania, xii. p. 145.

## MIDDLE-ENGLISH TEXTS.

- Lay. Layamon's Brut. ed. F. Madden, London, 1847, 3 vols.  
     Text *a*, about A. D. 1205.  
     Text *b*, about A. D. 1255.
- AR. The Ancren Riwe, ed. Morton : about A. D. 1200.
- KH. The Romance of King Horn in Morris's Specimens : about A. D. 1300.

Other Middle English texts cited after Skeat's Dictionary.